Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 05458 132053Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /076 W
----------109761 132101Z /73
O R 131735Z OCT 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9192
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY MASERU
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 5458

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PFOR WA
SUBJ: SWAPO LEADERSHIP SITUATION

REF: USUN 3539

1. SUMMARY: WHILE SAM NUJOMA IS WELL KNOWN INSIDE NAMIBIA AND INTERNAL SWAPO APPEARS BASICALLY LOYAL, THERE ARE UNCERTAINTIES WHICH WOULD JUSTIFY PRUDENCE AND CONCERN ON NUJOMA'S PART. SOME INTERNAL LEADERS HAVE PROBABLY DEVELOPED FOLLOWINGS OF THEIR OWN AND THE LONG SEPARATION OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SWAPO MAY WELL HAVE GIVEN RISE TO A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF MUTUAL DISTRUST. THE GREATER THREAT TO NUJOMA'S POSITION COULD COME FROM SWAPO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 05458 132053Z

LEADERS NOW IN VARIOUS FORMS OF DETENTION IN ANMIBIA AND ELSEWHERE. ANY JUDGMENT AT THIS TIME ON THE POSSIBILITIES AND CONSEQUENCES OF A FUTURE SWAPO POWER STRUGGLE, HOWEVER, WOULD BE HIGHLY SPECULATIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. THOUGH WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO EVALUATE WITH

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

ADEQUATE AUTHORITY THE LEADERSHIP SITUATION AS IT
AFFECTS EXTERNAL SWAPO, WE SUSPECT LESOTHO PERM REP
MOLAPO'S VIEWS (REFTEL) ARE BASICALLY SPECULATIVE.
CONTRARY TO MOLAPO'S ASSERTIONS, NUJOMA IS WIDELY
KNOWN INSIDE NAMIBIA BECAUSE OF THE LIMELIGHT HE HAS
ENJOYED FOR MANY YEARS. MOREOVER, THERE ARE OTHER
SWAPO LEADERS ABROAD, SUCH AS PARTY CHAIRMAN DAVID
MERERO AND AARON MUSHIMBA, WHO ARE RELATIVELY RECENT
EXILES AND REMAIN WELL-CONNECTED IN THE TERRITORY.

3. THE EXTENT OF DIVISIONS BETWEEN INTERNAL AND
EXTERNAL SWAPO CANNOT BE GAUGED WITH CERTAINTY. IN THEIR
CONVERSATIONS WITH US, INTERNAL SWAPO LEADERS APPEAR RELATIVELY
MODERATE. THEY MAINTAIN THAT THERE ARE NO IDEOLOGICAL OR
POLICY DIFFERENCES AND ADHERE CLOSELY TO THE PARTY LINE
FORMULATED BY THE OUTSIDE LEADERSHIP. THEY ARE INCLINED
TO BE RELUCTANT TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS BEFORE FIRST
CHECKING WITH SWAPO OFFICES IN LUSAKA OR LONDON.
THE INTERNAL LEADERS TEND TO BE YOUNG, BUT A FEW
OF THEM, SUCH AS DAN TJONGARERO, TAUNO HAUTIKULIPI
AND MOKGANEIDI TLHABANELLO APPEAR TO HAVE DEVELOPED
A NUCLEUS OF FOLLOWERS AND THIS COULD CREATE
SUSPICION IN NUJOMA'S MIND. MOREOVER, HE HAS TO
RECKON WITH THE FACT THAT YEARS OF SEPARATION BETWEEN
THE TWO GROUPS AND DIFFERENCES IN EXPERIENCE OVER
THOSE YEARS MAY GIVE RISE TO CONFLICTS ON TACTICS
CONFIDENTIAL

AND STRATEGY DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD OF AN
INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT. HIS FAILURE TO SELECT
EVEN ONE INTERNAL SWAPO LEADER TO PARTICIPATE IN
HIS TALKS WITH THE CONTACT GROUP COULD BE AN
INDICATION THAT HE DISCOUNTS, FEARS, OR DISTRUSTS
INTERNAL SWAPO. THIS COULD BE CAUSE FOR RESENTMENT
BUT WE HAVE AS YET DETECTED NONE.

4. FROM OUR VANTAGE POINT WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED
IF NUJOMA SEES A GREATER POTENTIAL THREAT TO HIS
LEADERSHIP POSITION IN THE EVENTUAL RELEASE OF
NAMIBIANS NOW IN DETENTION. MOST PROMINENT AMONG THEM
IS TOIVO YA TOIVO, CURRENTLY ON ROBBEN ISLAND, WHOSE
PRESENT POLITICAL LEANINGS AND AMBITIONS REMAIN
UNKNOWN QUANTITIES. AS INDICATED BY SWAPO VICE
PRESIDENT MUYONGO (LUSAKA 3084), ALSO SIGNIFICANT
IS ANDREAS SHIPANGA, IN DETENTION IN TANZANIA, A
DECLARED ADVERSARY OF NUJOMA WHO HAS A POTENTIALLY
LARGE FOLLOWING OF HIS OWN. OTHERS WHOM NUJOMA
MAY FEAR INCLUDE NATHANIEL MAXHUILILI, FORMER
ACTING PRESIDENT OF SWAPO AND NOW BANNED AND
RESTRICTED TO KUISEB RIVER TOWNSHIP. ANOTHER IS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

FORMER SWAPO VICE PRESIDENT BRENDAN SIMBWAYE, WHO
HAS BEEN IN DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGE SINCE 1972.
THERE ARE, IN ADDITION, MORE THAN A SCORE OF NAMIBIAN
POLITICAL DETAINEES ON ROBBEN ISLAND WHOSE CURRENT
ATTITUDES AND POTENTIAL CAN SCARCELY BE KNOW TO NUJOMA.

5. COMMENT: IN SHORT, WE BELIEVE THAT NUJOMA
HAS CAUSE FOR CONCERN ABOUT POTENTIAL CHALLENGES
TO HIS LEADERSHIP. PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTY
OF CALCULATING THE SERIOUSNESS OF THOSE CHALLENGES AT
THIS TIME, THEY PRESUMABLEY TEND TO REINFORCE NUJOMA'S
HESITANCY TO PROCEED TOWARD AN EARLY SETTLEMENT INVOLVING
A FREE POLITICAL PROCESS.
BOWDLER
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL LEADERS, PUBLIC ATTITUDES, THREATS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 13-Oct-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PRETOR05458
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770374-0073
Format: TEL
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19771064/aaaaccpb.tel
Line Count: 136
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 9e3ff830-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 USUN NEW YORK 3539
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 933399
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SWAPO LEADERSHIP SITUATION
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, WA, SWAPO, (NUJOMA, SAM), (TOIVO YA TOIVO), (SHIPANGA, ANDREAS), (MAXHUILILI, NATHANIEL), (SIMBWAYE, BRENDAN)
To: STATE USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9e3ff830-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009